

been talking about all these years. This is something that we talked about during the campaign of 1994. And this is something that the President is trying to reject. He has come out and said he is going to veto this. It is very difficult for us to understand how he can talk about vetoing it when these are things he has talked about, when he ran for President of the United States on this very platform—welfare reform, reducing taxes, Medicare reform, balancing the budget. That is exactly what we are trying to do. I want to stick with this and not give in.

There is an interesting statement that was made just the other day by the President. I will quote that statement. I think this gets to the crux of where we are in this debate. He said: "Probably, there are people in this room still mad at me for the budget because you think I raised your taxes too much. It might surprise you to know that I think we raised them too much, too."

This is exactly what we have been saying. If you were not for the largest single tax increase in the world—and that is not conservative Republican Jim Inhofe talking, that is the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee when this was passed—if you were not for that largest tax increase that now even Bill Clinton says he was not for, and that was his tax increase, then you ought to support repealing part of that tax increase. That is exactly what we are doing with some of the tax cuts that we are suggesting, Mr. President.

I think that when you talk about the cuts, it is interesting that we have a President now who is saying over and over again that the Republicans are trying to cut Medicare and Medicaid.

I will read you another quote, and this came from the President in a speech to the AARP on the October 5, 1993, just 2 years ago: "Today, Medicaid and Medicare are going up three times the rate of inflation. We propose to let it go up two times the rate of inflation. That is not a Medicare or Medicaid cut. So when you hear all this business about 'cuts,' let me caution you that that is not what is going on."

So there is the President saying—very accurately, I might add—back in 1993, that we are talking about slowing down the growth in the areas of Medicare and Medicaid because if we do not do it, the system is going to go into bankruptcy. He is turning around now and saying that which we want to do on the Republican side is cutting Medicare and Medicaid when, in fact, it is not.

So it is a very difficult thing when you are dealing with these moving targets, and you have a President that says one thing one day, has his polls around the White House, and he says something different the next day. That is very discouraging.

A TRIP TO BOSNIA

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I am going to be leaving today, going over to Bosnia. I have never seen something that is as critical as it is today on what the President is trying to do by sending our troops on the ground in Bosnia. Two and a half years ago, I predicted, when the President wanted to do airdrops in Bosnia, thereby giving the Americans a position within that warring faction of three different factions and going with one side against the other in getting involved in it, I said at that time, first, we will have airdrops, then air attacks and, after that, the President is going to want to send troops in on the ground. It was the other day, Michael Rose, the British general, commander of the Bosnian troops—he probably is the greatest authority on Bosnia—said, "If America sends troops into Bosnia on the ground, they will lose more lives than they lost in the Persian Gulf war."

Mr. President, I think that is exactly what is going to happen. I asked Secretary Perry and Secretary Christopher in the Senate Armed Services Committee, "Is this mission that we have in Bosnia—that mission being twofold, containing a civil war and, two, protecting the integrity of NATO—worth the loss of hundreds of American lives?"

Secretary Perry said, "Yes." Secretary Christopher said, "Yes." General Shalikashvili said, "Yes."

That is why I am going to Bosnia. I want the American people to know what kind of risk we are sending our troops in there to sustain. It was not until we went month after month, when we tried to get President Clinton, by resolution, to bring our troops out of Somalia—he did not do that until, finally, 18 of our rangers were murdered in cold blood and their corpses were dragged through the streets of Mogadishu. I do not want that to happen in the streets of Gorazde or the streets of Sarajevo.

I think we have a job to explain to the American people what the risks are over there and to stop this obsession that President Clinton has in sending our troops into Bosnia on the ground. I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GREGG). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATIONS BILL

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I was going to offer an amendment on legislative appropriations because when we enacted the Hatch Act, unbeknownst to virtually every Member, we passed a

prohibition for Members to send letters of recommendation to anyone who is not a schedule C or political appointee.

If any Member sends a letter to a U.S. attorney or to the EPA or anyone else recommending an employee or recommending a friend or anyone else for a civil service position, that is now a Federal crime. It is incredible. It just does not make sense.

I am pleased to say that my cosponsors have been Senator REID, Senator SIMPSON, Senator LOTT, and Senator DOLE has indicated he wants to cosponsor the bill.

I have word that Senator STEVENS is willing to mark up the bill, hold a hearing if necessary, mark up the bill separately, so I will not offer it as an amendment on this appropriation.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1996

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the Senate now turn to consideration of Calendar No. 220, H.R. 2492, the legislative branch appropriations bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 2492) making appropriations for the legislative branch for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following brief statements, the bill be advanced to third reading and final passage occur, all without further objection or amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOLE. I will be happy to yield to the manager on the other side and then I will make a brief statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington is recognized.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I rise to support the passage of the bill, H.R. 2492, the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act for fiscal year 1996. The provisions in this bill are exactly the same as those contained in the conference report on H.R. 1854, which overwhelmingly passed the Senate on September 22, 1995, by a vote of 94 to 4 but was subsequently vetoed by the President on October 3. At that time, as Members will recall, the President indicated

that because the Congress had completed action on only two appropriation bills for fiscal year 1996—legislative branch and military construction—he felt it would be inappropriate to provide full-year funding for Congress and its offices while most other activities of the Federal Government were being funded through a short-term continuing resolution. I am hopeful that the leadership will not send this bill to the President until Congress receives assurances that he will sign it.

For the benefit of Senators, let me briefly point out that this bill required many difficult decisions in order for the legislative branch to do its share in achieving substantial deficit reduction in fiscal year 1996. The bill appropriates \$2,184,850,000 for fiscal year 1996 for legislative operations, which is a reduction of over \$200 million from the 1995 level, or approximately 10 percent. The majority leader has cited the important features of the bill, which I will not repeat at this time, but, Mr. President, I do want to again thank Senator MACK, the chairman of the Legislative Branch Subcommittee, for his unfailing courtesy and to express my appreciation to him for the open and bipartisan spirit in which he has handled this important legislation throughout the year.

I urge my colleagues to vote for H.R. 2492.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I thank my colleague. I am pinch-hitting for Senator MACK of Florida, who is, right now, involved in a very important hearing on the Banking Committee. Let me indicate I will place in the RECORD at this point a summary of the funding recommendations.

As pointed out by my colleague from Washington, this is a reduction of about 8.6 percent. We believe we are setting an example for other branches. There are a number of areas where we made rather significant cuts, also terminating the OTA, for example, something that was not easy for many of my colleagues. But it is an indication we are concerned, we are sincere about a balanced budget, and we are prepared to do our share or more.

The bill includes a provision relative to the disposition of the records and property of the Office of Technology Assessment subsequent to its closure. Specifically, the agreement provides that OTA's property and records "shall be under the administrative control of the Architect of the Capitol."

The Office of the Senate Historian has raised a concern that this provision not interfere with the transfer of archival material of the Office of Technology Assessment to the legislative archives of the National Archives. It is my understanding that the conferees had no such intent, and that the Architect of the Capitol will only assume temporary, administrative control of the material before transferring appropriate records to the National Archives.

It is also my understanding that the Clerk of the House, after discussions with the Secretary of the Senate, has agreed that OTA's archival material shall be treated as records of the Senate and administered according to Senate Resolution 474 of the 96th Congress. This will give the Secretary of the Senate administrative jurisdiction over the archival records.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent a statement of a summary of funding recommendations be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUMMARY OF FUNDING RECOMMENDATIONS

The total recommended is \$2,184,856,000, a reduction of \$205,698,700, or 8.6%, from FY95.

GAO is reduced 15% from FY95 levels; Committee is committed to another 10% in FY97 for a 25% reduction from FY95 levels over two years.

OTA is terminated; termination costs totalling \$6,115,000 are provided. (\$3,615,000 in FY96 funds, \$2,500,000 reappropriated from FY95.)

Library of Congress granted \$1,500,000 over FY95 for digital library initiative; all other Library activities, including CRS, at FY95 level.

CBO granted \$1.1 million and 13 FTE's for unfunded mandates analysis.

Architect of Capitol activities in Title I reduced \$16,163,000 overall (10%) from FY95 levels.

Joint Committees reduced commensurate with Senate committee cut.

New "Office of Compliance" created by Congressional Accountability Act funded as a joint item at \$2,500,000. A permanent indefinite appropriation is recommended for settlements and awards arising from the new Accountability Act.

Total recommended Senate funding is \$426,919,000, a reduction of \$33,661,500. In addition, \$63,544,723.12 from prior year funds is rescinded.

Committee funding is reduced 15%; Secretary of the Senate, Sergeant at Arms, and OFEP reduced 12.5%; Chaplain, Legal Counsel, and Legislative Counsel frozen at FY95 levels.

Official mail frozen at \$11,000,000. (N.B. House merged official mail with office accounts.)

Statutory allowances for Senators' personal offices are not reduced.

Mr. DOLE. I also confirm the Senator from Alaska, Senator STEVENS, has, as indicated by the Senator from Illinois, Senator SIMON, agreed to have hearings and a markup of an amendment that Senator SIMON would have offered to this bill.

So there are no amendments, no objections to it proceeding.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the third reading and passage of the bill.

The bill (H.R. 2492) was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. MCCAIN. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call will roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ASHCROFT). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to address the Senate for a period of up to 20 minutes as if in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FIVE STEPS CLINTON MUST TAKE TO PROVE HE IS SERIOUS ABOUT BALANCING THE BUDGET

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, last week we passed out of this body the reconciliation bill which will lead to a balanced budget. This is obviously a significant step on the road to guaranteeing our children a nation which can be prosperous and which is solvent. I believe most Americans understand the importance of the balanced budget. They certainly expressed it in my district, and I am sure in other States, year after year as they have gone to the polls. They understand it because in their homelife they experience the need to maintain fiscal solvency. They know that if they continue to spend every year more than they take in, it will lead to some sort of economic chaos in their own lives, and intuitively and logically they understand, therefore, that for the Federal Government to do that, not only year after year but what has amounted to generation after generation, leads inevitably to economic chaos.

So the Republican leadership in the Senate and the House has produced a budget which will give us a balanced budget by the year 2002. For the first time in years we will actually be living within our means. This is, I believe, a critical step on the path to assuring, as I said earlier, a solvent nation for our children, which is, I believe, our No. 1 responsibility as keepers of the flame of America as Members of this Senate.

The question, however, is whether or not the President will join us in this effort in a serious way. The President has repeatedly said that he wants to balance the budget. But so far his actions have certainly not matched his words. Although we have produced a serious proposal for balancing the budget, which the Congressional Budget Office has scored as being in balance, and are now trying to iron out the differences, we do not find that the President has been willing to join in substantively discussing this matter in a serious way.

Conventional wisdom holds, in fact, that the President will veto this bill and then he and the Congress will negotiate and reach some type of agreement, hopefully. But I am not so sure.